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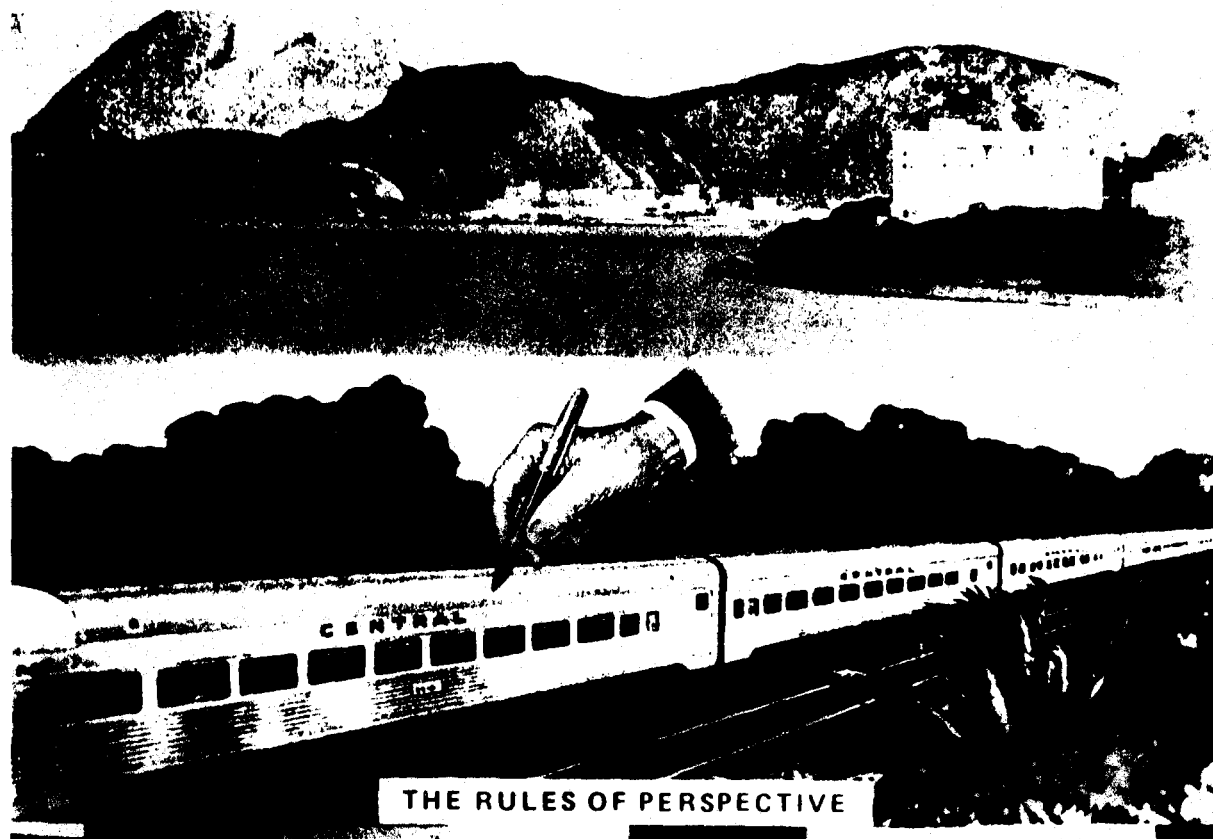
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'This number of LCM' is doubly illustrated, presumably for Christmas, though this year it contains no game, perhaps to the relief of subscribers. The Editor knows of only one reader who actually played the game, and he reported that it appeared to take three Platonic periods of a thousand years (*Phaedrus* 249a, *Republic* 615a) and therefore perhaps entitled him to go to the Isles of the Blessed (*Pindar*, *O.*2.68-70). It comes with the traditional wish "A HAPPY CHRISTMAS TO ALL OUR READERS", and special thanks to those well-organized among them who have already spontaneously sent their 1983 subscription - still what it was last year and as advertized above - and the hope that others may be moved to follow their example. It does not save the Editor postage, since invoices are included with the journal (hopefully with the January number, often as late as March), but it does save him work. And the Editor is not chalcenic, whatever a contributor thinks (p.151) - neither his guts are of brass nor any of the other parts which no other journal reaches (he is a Devon man and not a man, or beast, of Derbyshire), though when he thinks of it, as now, when the last of the monthly sixteen pages is being typed, the new format does involve a good deal of work, that, in a good month, of perhaps two weekends.

For the new format, which has, barring accidents like that of October, finally settled down into one which appears to satisfy readers (at any rate there have been no further complaints) and surely does contributors, since LCM has come a long way from the early days when there were only four articles a month. Fears of running out of material, never absent from the Editor's mind in those early days, though never justifiably, have been superseded by those of angry letters from contributors complaining of delay in publication. The Editor, as well as never employing referees, never reveals the *arcana imperii*, and will go no further than to say that the back-log is greater than he might wish, but that most contributors seem satisfied that their articles appear rapidly enough - he cannot say whether more rapidly than they would in those other journals which do not reach the same parts (an obscure reference, he had better explain for subscribers abroad ['foreign' seems to have a pejorative tone], to the advertisements of a well-known beverage. If they want to appear more rapidly, they should either respond to a previous article or write on a Greek subject, Homer or Drama (but he notices the growing popularity of Aristophanes, and hopes soon to have three on Menander in one number), since these are always in shorter supply than those on Latin subjects. It is possible that this reflects the number of Greek scholars who are philosophers, and have their professional journals: historians also sometimes complain that the Editor does not publish enough historical articles. This tendency to compartmentalization, or professionalism, that leads scholars to regard themselves as only competent to write in one sphere, is perhaps peculiarly English and of recent development: the total separation of the Greek and Latin Departments at Liverpool was the work of R.G.Austin, of whom a memoir/review appears in this issue, and who was known to refer, in affectionate jest, to Greek as 'a silly capering language' too much attention to which might corrupt the Latin style of his lecturers. The Editor also notes that both papers at this year's conference of the Council of University Classical Departments (spelled out again for readers abroad) are devoted to the teaching of Ancient History, and this may perhaps be the context in which the discussion of cuts and the Classics will take place (a typically Delphic utterance that!). He refers readers to his Notes of July, and is sometimes reminded of nothing so much as interservice rivalries such as he encountered after the War as an Air Force reservist in what was then Coastal Command. The cause seems to lie in the Departmental structure of British Provincial Universities - but enough of sermonizing, an Editorial vice - while the Editorial virtue of LCM is, its Editor hopes, that there is always in it 'SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY'.



THE RULES OF PERSPECTIVE



† Fig.1 Designed by John Stalin, People's Police 1980

< Fig.2 From *Roland Barthes*: by Roland Barthes, tr. 1977, p.39: 'My body is free of its image-repertoire only when it establishes its work space. This space is the same everywhere, patiently adapted to the pleasure of painting, writing, sorting-ing.'

'Every literary description is a view' (Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, tr. p.54). As fig.1 proposes, we can add that every 'view' is an artistic description (Does this postcard show a landscape containing a train; does it show us the landscape contained by the view from a train - is it a view of a view from a train; and/or does the postcard show us both these views as artistic descriptions from the painter's studio? Answers on a postcard to - LCM!).

To these opening remarks we may add that every portrait is a self-portrait: specifically, 'every literary description is a view' of the writer's room from the writer's room (See fig.2 for a view of/from Roland Barthes' 'work space' - the scene of his writing such specific generalizations as the quotation from *S/Z*. My own work space, the scene of this writing, is already implicated in the views you have read - quotations from 'my' books, a postcard from 'my' study door, allusion in 'my' title to E.M.Forster's novel produced across the way in another of 'my' College's work spaces ...).

Most readings of most literature (and most art) most of the time ... (A harangue would follow here - on 'realism', on 'positivism', on 'objectivism', but instead - a polemical lacuna) ... I want to consider here a poem which, like my postcard, stages a reflection on the circularity of the relationship between the writer's view from his room, the writer's view of his room, between the writer's view and the writer's views.

The poem is, I'm told², by the great Carolingian educationalist Alcuin, writing around A.D. 800, once called to court by Charlemagne to advise on the restoration in the new Holy Roman Empire of the classical pattern of rhetorical instruction³, here meditating on a take-over of a monastery (In York? He doesn't say). The poem, so far as I'm aware, comes to us in the miscellaneous collections of Alcuin's poetry, though the 38-line elegiac can always suggest a prefatorial design (The plan would be title plus two full columns of writing, leaving the putative body of the work to come to start afresh at the head of a column: *o mea cella* would, I think, make a fine introduction to ... more or less any piece of Alcuin's written ministry):

<i>o mea cella mihi habitatio dulcis amata,</i>	1
<i>semper in aeternum, o mea cella, uale.</i>	2
<i>undique te cingit ramis resonantibus arbos,</i>	3
<i>siluula florigeris semper onusta comis;</i>	4
<i>prata salutiferis floreant omnia et herbis</i>	5
<i>quas medici quaerit dextra salutis ope;</i>	6
<i>flumina te cingunt florentibus undique ripis</i>	7
<i>retia piscator qua sua tendit ouans;</i>	8
<i>pomiferis redolent ramis tua claustra per hortos,</i>	9
<i>lilia cum rosulis candida mixta rubris;</i>	10
<i>omne genus uolucrum matutinas personat odas</i>	11
<i>atque creatorem laudat in ore deum.</i>	12
<i>in te personuit quondam uox alma magistri</i>	13
<i>quae sacro sophiae tradidit ore libros,</i>	14
<i>in te temporibus certis laus sancta Tonantis</i>	15
<i>pacificis sonuit uocibus atque animis.</i>	16
<i>te, mea cella, modo lacrimosis plango camenis</i>	17
<i>atque gemens casus pectore plango tuos,</i>	18
<i>te subito quoniam fugisti carmina uatum</i>	19
<i>atque ignota manus te modo tota tenet;</i>	20
<i>te modo nec Flaccus nec uatis Homerus habebit</i>	21
<i>nec pueri musas per tua tecta canunt.</i>	22
<i>uertitur omne decus saeculi sic namque repente,</i>	23
<i>omnia mutantur ordinibus uariis;</i>	24
<i>nil manet aeternum, nihil immutabile uere est:</i>	25
<i>obscurat saeculum nox tenebrosa diem,</i>	26
<i>decutit et flores subito hiems frigida pulcros,</i>	27
<i>perturbat placidum et tristior aura mare;</i>	28

1. I wrote this piece for Oliver Taplin, but I would like to dedicate it to the memory of Colin Macleod against whose loss there is no cheer.

2. Oddly, I came on this poem via M.L.Uhlfelder's article in *Latomus* 34(1975), 224-231.

3. For a priceless moment, when Alcuin tells Charlemagne that the ancient super-memory techniques are lost but for remarks in Cicero, 'We have no other precepts about it, except exercise in memorizing, practice in writing, application to study, and the avoidance of drunkenness', see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Penguin ed. p.66: after reading *o mea cella* I'm disposed to think Alcuin was being terribly polite ...

<i>qua campis ceruos agitabat sacra iuventus</i>	29
<i>'incumbit fessus nunc baculo senior.</i>	30
<i>nos miseri cur te fugitium, mundus, amamus?</i>	31
<i>tu fugis a nobis semper ubique ruens.</i>	32
<i>tu fugiens fugias: Christum nos semper amemus,</i>	33
<i>semper amor teneat pectora nostra dei;</i>	34
<i>ille pios famulos diro defendat ab hoste</i>	35
<i>ad caelum raptens pectora nostra, suos;</i>	36
<i>pectore quem pariter toto laudemus, amemus:</i>	37
<i>nostra est ille pius gloria uita salus.</i>	38

We can read 1-2 as a self-contained elegiac epitaph, a ring opened by the address (we may say: an implied *salus*), asserted by the repetition of *o mea cella*, and emphatically closed (for ever) by *uale* (See the last line of Catullus 101 ... *in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale*; for the chiasmic repetition structure, an elegiac elegance, try e.g. Ovid, *Amores* 1.9.1-2; the pattern makes for a reinforced 'hinge' between the lines in *amata* | *semper* and *dulcis* :: *in aeternum*). An epitaph for a place, a tiny space, the monk's cell, and for a group space, the institution of the monastery (*cella* doubles for both); the place is a place of mine, of my own, where I have been, part of my life, of me (*mea, mihi habitatio, mea*). We may say: the personification of place marks the projection of personality; the topography of the cell will be a topography of self, an external map of the self, a spatial metaphor for the indescribable place 'inside' which is 'me'.

The couplet has had the ultra-simplicity of traditional valediction: in the face of death, stark formulae connote the inadequacy of language to convey grief, the incomprehensible reduction of individuality to the general laws of existence (We could go on: the theme of language as signifying the communicational impotence of language before emotion leaves us a lacuna which mocks attempts to fill in the gap with more ... language). No matter how special a loss may be to the mourner, loss is nothing special.

3-38 offers a meditative re-examination of 1-2, a reflective revision traversing and re-traversing its simplicities: its repetitions - the repetitions mostly underlined in the text - mark a series of explorations of the repetition of *o mea cella* ... *o mea cella* in 1 and in 2: we may say that the different repetitions in 3-38 open up the difference(s) between those opening phrases, those identical letters. In 1, the *cella* is *amata* as an *habitatio dulcis*; in 2, the *cella* is gone *semper in aeternum*: the human being's pleasure in the property he has owned, pride in what he has 'had', where he has been for a significant spell of his life, the significance to the human being of his loss - measured against eternity. Against Eternity? A farewell 'for ever'. A farewell 'for EVER'? We may say that the repetition of *o mea cella* makes us see the terms *semper in aeternum* in different ways, a difference which the rest of the poem will play within. And similarly with *uale* in 2: we may say that the last farewell is still within the series of 'fare well's - still a 'greeting' (an *aue* or *salus*) - a last wish for *salus*; again, the repetition of *o mea cella* makes us see *uale* in different ways. And so ... repetition has initiated difference - firstly different ways of seeing the 'single' terms, those which aren't repeated; secondly different ways of seeing the 'doubled' terms, those which are repeated (and thirdly, differences between the 'single' terms, *dulcis* :: *amata*, *semper* :: *in aeternum*; fourthly, differences within the 'single' terms, *dulcis* :: *dulcis*, *amata* :: *amata*, etc., i.e. different ways of seeing each of these terms). These notions become clearer if you stand either the poem or yourself upside down (But not both); 3-38 articulates a revision of the initial significance of the space of a human being's life and produces a final formula in 38: *Christ* is *nostra* ... *gloria uita salus*. Meditation on the passing of the *cella* leads to a very different way of seeing those initial terms of valediction.

3-16 (Right way up now) blend pagan classics with Christian imagery to make a poetic landscape: to bring the bare *cella* to 'life' - the life now lost to the poet. The old *cella*/self is first 'defined' - given boundaries, viewed as an 'inside' (3 *undique te cingit*, 7 *te cingunt undique*), fenced in/off (*cingo*): an enclosure in which the monk's solitary cell, his study, his private self, scene of his meditation, of his writing, also includes, by synecdoche) those other individual *cellae* which are together the monastery community, the *cella* in the other sense. Already here the poet's self is viewed as a pattern for a wider constituency of human beings, just as later the frame will be widened to mankind as a whole, when the monastery serves as a pattern for *omne decus saeculi*, 23, for the *mundus*, 31. One result of viewing *cella* in 1-2 differently

cella is room ... for sound (3): a natural sound-box lasting as long as each *arbor* (3) grows into a *silvula* (4) - a natural eternity through growth (*semper*, 4). Flowering foliage (4, 5, 7) decks the poet's self with beauty - the pleasure of the ephemeral renewed through seasonal recurrence: these lines themselves view the *cella* and its poem as a 'florilegium', an 'anthology' of beautiful lines from classical texts renewed in Alcuin's re-writing. Rivers bound the monastery (7-8) - transient permanence, the constancy of the ceaseless flow of time - beautiful banks where the poet takes pleasure ... and the disciple 'glories' to renew the pattern of the first, fishermen, apostles, fishing for men, for Christ, for the Gospel. Outside the cell but inside the monastery, beauty pervades the landscape (5-6), bringing salvation, *salus* (6), glossed with the doctor's perspective: the view from the room

offers a natural prosperity for human beings in terms of prolonged active life. Perfume pervades the cloisters (9-10): from monastery to cell, the blended scent of the gardens of ancient poetry itself blended with Christian imagery in the blend of lilies with roses, white flesh and red blood. By 11-12 the *cella* is again a sound-box, pervaded now (*personat*, cf. *per*, 9; *omne*, cf. *omnia*, 5) with the natural sound of ... Christian worship: matins from the birds to their Creator - lowly birds flying highest toward heaven, challenging humans to fly higher still *ad caelum* (36); a natural response to God challenging men to learn to emulate it; a song of praise inviting meditation on the song of praise in which it occurs, inviting revision of the poet's focus of his praise?

13-16 flash back to two moments when the humans of the *cella* complemented the sounds of the landscape, at one with nature in their sacred readings (14), holy praises at fixed times daily/annually (15) in an institutionalized imitation of seasonal recurrence and natural response to the Creator.

With the teacher handing on the books of wisdom and their message, with the monks matching words and minds in their hymns, we are set to return to the opening couplet in 17, *mea cella*: again repetition of *plango* (17-18) invites meditation on difference as this teacher/singer, the poet, tries to match the grief of his heart with the grief of his song. The poem mourns the sudden moment(s) when the *cella* ceased to be *mea*, was no longer the property of Alcuin and friends ('*Flaccus*' and '*Homerus*', 21; with *habebit*, 21, cf. *habitatio*, 1), ran out on the poets (*uates*, 19, 21; *camenis*, 17, *carmina*, 19, *canunt*, 22, will all have been felt by Alcuin to be the same 'word') - when the sound-box pervaded by praise of the Creator (*per tua tecta*, 22, cf. *tua claustra per*, 9, etc.), from the *pueri* (22) instructed by their *magister* (13), went silent.

The *cella* is no longer a landscape of recurrent renewal, beauty, pleasure, an image of the eternal, celebration of the Creator by creation - blend of poetry with scripture (21, the classics, 22, holy songs): destroyed by person or persons unknown (*ignota manus*, 20). In 23-30 the *cella* is seen differently: metaphor for all secular existences (*omne*, 23, *omnia*, 24, cf. 5, 11), the suddenness of its transformation (19) is the law of mundane transience (23). Nothing of 'ours' is eternal (25): revise your view of 2 (At once). Night darkens holy day (*sacrum*, 26, cf. *sacra*, 29, with *sacro*, 14, *sancta*, 15. Re-think); winter removes the flowers' beauty (27, cf. 4, 5, 7); winds pervade the sea (28, *perturbat*, cf. *per* in 9, 11, 13); where boy hunted the fleetest of creatures (29, *qua* ... , cf. 8, *qua* ... and the fisherman), the old man now leans on his stick (30, *nunc* :: *quondam*, 13). Of course! Life flashes away in a moment - as part of the order of creation (cf. 24, *ordinibus uariis*). Day/Night, Seasons/Years, Ages of Man, monastery landscape, all subject to the laws of the *mundus* ...

The loss of the *cella* has now prompted a meditation which transcends emotional attachment to the pleasures it has given: hence *tu* ... *fugisti* (19) hardens through *te fugitium* (31) and *tu fugis* (32) to *tu fugiens fugias* (33); we must review *amata* (1): via *amamus* (31) we learn instead that we should *Christum* ... *semper amemus* (33), *semper amor teneat pectora nostra dei* (34), *pectore* ... *quem* ... *toto laudemus*, *amemus* (37: re-view *semper*, 2, *tenet*, 20, *pectore*, 18, *tota*, 20, *laudat*, 12, *laus*, 15).

But the poet's meditation, staged as the proceeds of the moment of love, is only a re-discovery - re-discovery of the oldest rhetorical images, themes, doctrines, renewal of the beginnings of Carolingian culture in classical Latin and the Bible. The passing of the *cella* is the occasion for - re-affirmation of the already-known, of the lessons learned by the poet from the handing-down of the books of wisdom by the *magister* (14) in the *cella*. The lesson could be read in the topography of the *cella* only because the poet had had the old books recited to him in the *cella*: his own recitation in the poem of the *cella* is only a re-citation of the old songs of the *cella*⁴. Alcuin sees past the *cella*, sees its passing as mundane transience, only because he has learned of the mundanity of the *cella* from his past studies in the *cella* ...

Staged as a moment of discovery prompted by grief at loss, *o mea cella* is also staged as a poem - recognizably elegiac couplets, anthologized descriptive phrasing, thematic renewal of the beginnings of Carolingian culture in Vergil's first Eclogue (whence the *resonantibus ramis* in the *siluula*, 3-4, and the idea of *fugere*, passim, reflections on divinity and eternal devotion, visions of idyllic retreat among rivers, trees and flowers ...; for Alcuin the earliest Latin poem known?), symbolic renewal of the Gospel ...

In literature, we may say, everything begins with quotation (So Jacques Derrida - a contemporary Alcuin?): it is not just Mediaeval Man whose writings describe from the writer's room the view of the writer's room; the writer's view re-tells the lessons learned in the *cella*, re-writes what the writer has read, portrays the writer's self, a re-written work space - the scene of writing.

4. I re-cite this pun from my own local *uatis Homerus*, Michael Lynn-George.

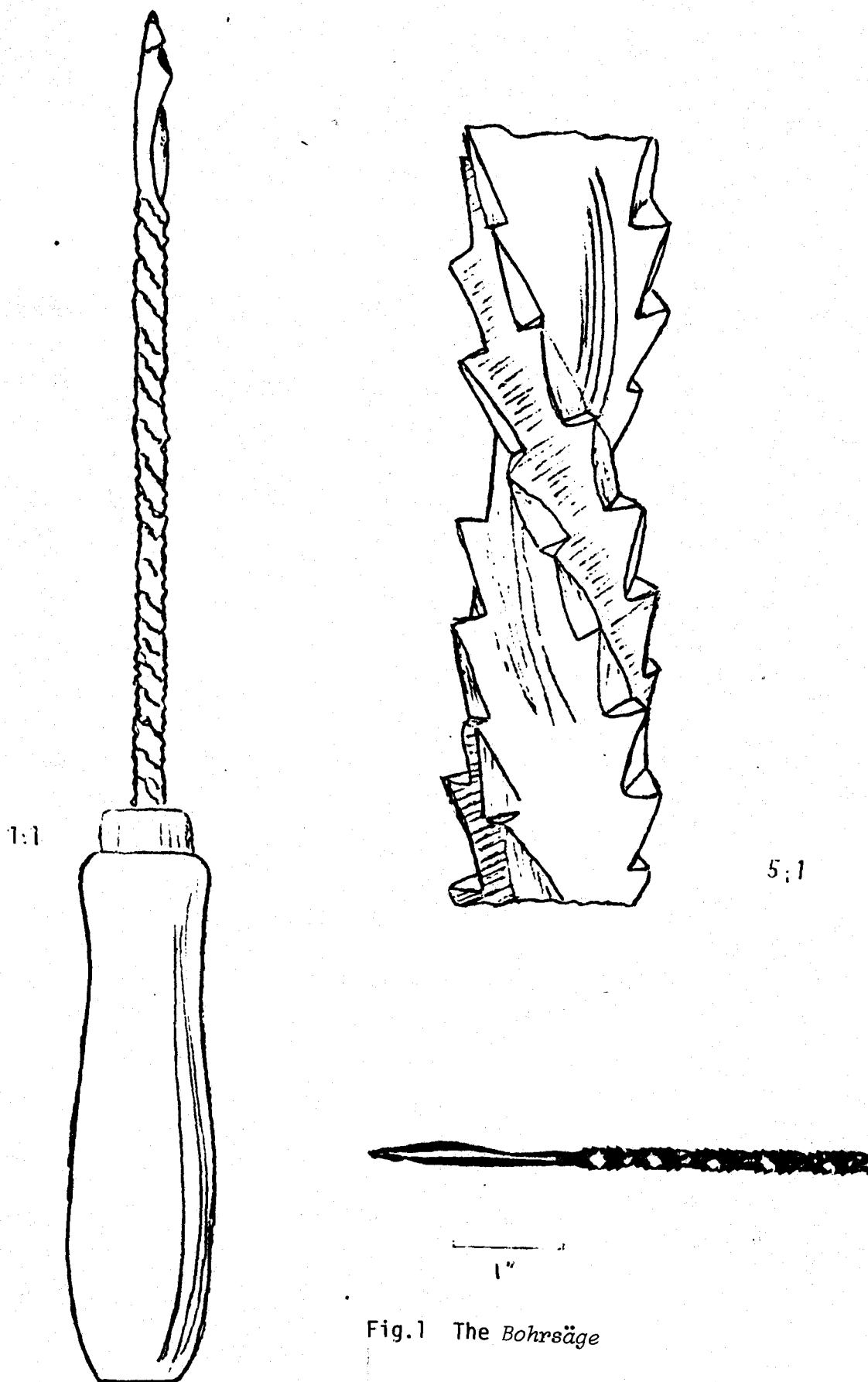


Fig.1 The *Bohrsäge*

A house-removal by my daughter and the need to enlarge a pre-existing hole in a stout front-door so as to accommodate the $\frac{3}{4}$ " shank of a brass door-knob led today to an appeal for help. Father turned up with his boring saw/*Bohrsäge/Scie à mèches* (sometimes called by the knowledgeable a *Stichling* = stickleback), and with a few thrusts the job was done snicker-snack.

The *Bohrsäge* (often 9" or 12" long) is a small but formidable tool more common in Germany than in Britain, though now imported into this country. It consists essentially of a slender piece of hard metal bearing a double row of saw-like teeth in a continuous spiral throughout its length, apart from its point, which forms a gimlet. It is worked by means of a wooden handle enveloping the other end, and is highly manoeuvrable in any direction by the use of one hand only. The interstices between the spiral set of teeth serve to remove sawdust, and prevent clogging. The action is rapid, but coarse. For a fuller description the curious may consult the text and diagrams of the West German *Patentschrift* no. 1 003 431 dated 8/8/1957¹ and the British Patent Specification no. 707,747 dated 21/4/1954 (there are also US, Swiss and French patents): cf. also fig. 1 opposite. It is clear from the language employed in these Patents that the modern German tool is an adaptation and improvement, principally in respect of the non-clog interstices, of an earlier and perhaps traditional implement.

It is of course none other than the tool used by Dr Strato (Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 180). The advocate goes into some detail in this entertaining detective anecdote, but has of course been accused by muddled commentators of being himself confused. But consider:

- 179 *hoc ipso fere tempore Strato ille medicus domi furtum fecit et caedem eius modi. cum essent in aedibus armarium in quo sciret esse nummorum aliquantum et auri ... armari fundum exsecuit et HS <x> et auri quinque pondo abstulit*
 180 *... cum exsecutio illa fundi in armario animaduertetur, homines quaerebant quoniam modo fieri potuisset. quidam ex amicis Sassiæ recordatus est se ruper in auctione quadam uidisse in rebus minutis aduncam ex omni parte dentatam et tortuosam uenire serrulam qua illud potuisse ita circumsecari uideretur. ne multa, perquiritur a coactoribus, inuenitur ea serrula ad stratonem peruenisse.*

It follows from this that the tool was a) small; b) rather noteworthy; c) capable of cutting a circular hole in the under surface of a solid wall-mounted cupboard or safe in such a way that the damage was not immediately perceptible; d) hooked, or hooked throughout; e) toothed, or toothed throughout; f) in some way twisted; but g) not particularly valuable in the auctioneer's eyes since it was regarded as junk, and thus sold *in rebus minutis*. It is obvious that our tool corresponds in every particular with the requirements of Cicero's description².

It is interesting, though not profitable, to survey the speculations of commentators, who are much given to the view that the doctor trepanned the cupboard with a brace and circular toothed bit (an operation surely more difficult than that which Strato is supposed to have performed on human skulls): I cite J.F. Davies, *Hermathena* 3 (1876), 401; S.G. Owen, *CR* 3 (1889), 374, W.Y. Fausset, *ibid.*, 469; R.L. Dunbabin, *CR* 26 (1912), 47f.. And it is charitable to pass over the translators, who are naturally equally discomfited (a recent writer offers '... a small circular saw with an indented handle and teeth all round the edge. It seemed possible that this might have been the instrument which had cut round the base of the safe.').

The main advantage of the little *Stichling* is that it both bores and saws, a work normally requiring the use of two tools, and that it can move in any direction at will describing such pattern as is desired. A further attraction in Strato's eyes will - if I may judge from my experience - have been the fact that the circular or oval piece of wood removed by the sawing operation remains a unit: the divot could be replaced with the help of a little packing in such a way as to escape immediate attention from the outside amid the shadow beneath the cupboard. A disadvantage is the noisiness of sawing; but a practitioner able to carry out a double murder and throw the bodies in a water-tank without being immediately detected was no doubt more capable of solving that problem than the writer: the absence of others, apart from the victims, seems most likely, or competing din raised by *uno ex seruis puero non grandi conscio*.

There is however a missing element. In a desultory but persistent manner I have for many years looked for such a *serrula* among the numerous and rich collections of Roman tools

1. I am obliged to a friend in the Munich Patent Office, Herr Dr Paul Freudenreich, for information re patents.
2. *OLD* is unhelpful in lumping together various sorts of *serrulae* without definition; and the matter seems to have escaped proper treatment in Blümmner and Daremberg-Saglio, to mention only the older authorities.

in various parts of Europe: but in vain. Yet however uncommon the instrument was to the ordinary public in Cicero's day, it would be surprising if nothing comparable survived today. Perhaps indeed it does, loitering corroded and disfigured amid frightening surgical instruments. Can archaeologists and museum directors help?

If, however, as I believe, this identification is valid, we may draw the following conclusions: 1. Cicero described the tool very adequately and correctly.

2. We should punctuate *aduncam, ex omni parte* and not run the words together (*aduncam ex omni parte*).

3. Priscian's *dentatam* (K 2.113) is confirmed against the MSS *dentum/dentium*.

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BARRY R. KATZ (New York University): *Notes on Sulla's ancestors* LCM 7.10 (Dec. 1982), 148-149

P. Cornelius Rufinus was expelled from the Senate by the censors in 275 B.C. for possessing ten pounds of silver plate, in violation of a sumptuary law¹. The next generation saw a member of the family, conveniently considered his son, holding the position of *flamen Dialis* and assuming the *cognomen* 'Sulla' in place of 'Rufinus'².

I maintain that for a son of Rufinus to hold that priesthood was a face-saving measure, a compromise of sorts. After all, the family was patrician and belonged to the great *gens Cornelia*, while the dominant censor of 275 had been Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, a plebeian, and the only member of his family ever to reach the consulship (much less the censorship)³. Since the *flamen Dialis* was subject to religious prohibitions politically detrimental - he was, e.g., forbidden to look upon an armed force or to ride a horse (Gellius 10.15) - the failure of Rufinus' son to achieve a consulship or, apparently, even a praetorship would thereby have received a sacred covering.

By chance, we learn from Livy that, as of 209, no *flamen Dialis* 'nec patrum nec avorum memoria' had exercised the right of entry into the Senate 'ob indignitatem flaminum priorum' (Livy 27.8.7 & 9). The tribunes of the year referred to the 'inertia flaminum' (Livy 27.8.10), but perhaps it was not sloth, rather prudence or expediency on the part of Rufinus' son. Something was better than nothing.

Recently, R.F. Rossi, in the long-awaited Volume IV of the *Storia di Roma* series from the Istituto di Studi Romani, has written that 'Contrariamente a quanto afferma Plutarco [i.e. Sulla 1.2], questa condanna non segnò un reale declino della famiglia, benché nessuno dei suoi discendenti giungesse più al consolato'⁴. Rossi's second and third clauses conflict. Rufinus had gained two consulships, a dictatorship, and a triumph. No such distinction is found in the family again until the days of the Sulla, almost two centuries later. If that does not constitute a decline, what does?

Regarding the *flamen*, Rossi has written that 'In quell'epoca però il quadro delle credenze e della religiosità, a Roma, era ancora tale, che si può ritenere che si trattasse di una carica ambita ed onorifica, che accresceva il prestigio della famiglia e non ne diminuiva il peso politico'⁵. Was not the period of the Second Punic War an age of even greater religiosity, indeed extremes of superstition, than that of the First Punic War? Yet in 209 C. Valerius Flaccus was installed as *flamen Dialis* against his will⁶. The flamine of Jupiter did possess prestige, but, clearly, it was very much a second-best post for anyone with political aspirations.

Interestingly, it was the 'inert' *flamen* who had the energy to assume a new family name, 'Sulla' in place of 'Rufinus'. Sulla himself informs us of the point⁷. Perhaps, it was time for a change! In fact, we know of cases in which an aristocratic family abandoned and banned a traditional *praenomen* because a member possessing it had been disgraced⁸.

1. See MRR 1.196 for sources, to which Gellius 4.8.7 should be added.

2. Sulla fr.2 Peter *apud* Gellius 1.12.16 *L. Sulla rerum gestarum libro secundo ita scripsit: 'P. Cornelius, cui primum cognomen Sullae impositum est, flamen Dialis captus.'*

3. See n.1 above for sources, which focus on Fabricius rather than his colleague, the patrician Q. Aemilius Papus. One thinks of the somewhat analogous case of the censorship exercised later by Cato and Valerius Flaccus, another pair consisting of a plebeian and a patrician, closely associated, but with the former dominant. Regarding the censors of 275, see J. Soulahti, *The Roman Censors. A Study on Social Structure*, Helsinki 1963, 256-260.

4. R.F. Rossi, *Dai Gracchi a Silla. Storia di Roma IV*, Istituto di Studi Romani, Bologna 1980, 479.

5. Id. Ibid. 6. Livy 27.8.4; cf. Valerius Maximus 6.9.3.

7. See n.2 above

8. Cicero, *Phil.* 1.32; Livy 6.20.14; Plutarch, *Cic.* 49.6; Suetonius, *Tib.* 1.2; Dio 51.19.3; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.17.8. Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*, London 1979, 147 & n.

Why not, as is also known later, a disgraced *cognomen*? The simultaneity (convergence in the same generation) of withdrawal from active politics to a priesthood, due, I argue, to the expulsion from the Senate of Rufinus in the preceding generation, and the change of *cognomen* point to common causation. Our understanding of Sulla's forebears has advanced several paces.

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A.A.R.SHEPPARD(London): *A dissident in Tarsus? (Dio Chrysostom, Or.66)*

LCM 7.10(Dec.1982), 149-150

I offer here some speculations about the date and place of delivery of Dio Chrysostom, Or.66, and its possible connexions with other works of that author.

I. Or.66, *On reputation*, a short sermon in the Cynic manner on the follies of ambition, is generally dated, on Von Arnim's authority (H.von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*, Berlin 1898, 301-306) to shortly before the assassination of Domitian, when Dio was still in exile. This dating is based on section 6. After a list of the misfortunes of the House of Pelops, as an illustration of the perils of fame, Dio continues *ἐτι δὲ (δεῖν) ἔστιν ἑτέραν αἰκίαν συντριβεῖσαν πλουσιωτέραν ἐκείνης διὰ γλώττων καὶ νῆ Δία ἑτέραν κινδυνεύουσαν* 'Furthermore, one can see another house, richer than Pelops', which was ruined because of a tongue and, by Zeus, another in danger'. These two households have usually been identified as the families of Nero and Domitian respectively and the passage associated with the reports of prophecies of Domitian's death being circulated in 95/6 (Suetonius, *Dom.*15.2-3; Dio 67.16 & 18). Quite apart from any nagging doubt as to whether these prophecies were in fact circulated *ante eventum*, it is doubtful whether γλώττω would have suggested Nero to Dio's audience: the word is not used of singing, but of speech, especially of a tactless or licentious kind, like the English 'lip' (LSJ s.v. and cf. Dio 32.19). It is true that Dio himself at one time apparently believed that Nero owed his downfall to tales told by Sporus, but he implies that this story was not generally current (Dio 21.9).

However, at least three of Domitian's known victims were supposed to have fallen foul of the Emperor because of things they said or wrote. L.Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus had incurred Domitian's displeasure for a barbed jest at the time of his wife's abduction by the future Emperor in 70 (Suetonius, *Dom.*10.2); the historian Hermogenes of Tarsus and the rhetor Maternus lost their lives as a result of their professional activity (Suetonius, *Dom.*10.1, cf. *PIR*² H 146-147, Dio 67.12.5). It appears from Dio that Maternus was executed in 91, but the dates of death of the others can only be guessed at. Plautius had been Consul in 80: perhaps he attracted suspicion during the upheavals of Domitian's matrimonial life datable to 83 (Dio 67.3 and Eusebius-Jerome, *Chron.* an.2099 = 82/3). The execution of Flavius Sabinus and Dio's own exile most probably belong to the same year 83 (see C.P.Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 45-46; A.Garzutti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines* [English edition], London 1974, 268ff. & 646-647). Plautius was eminent enough to have had a reputation for great wealth; the same might have been true, in a different setting, of Hermogenes. He presumably perished in one of the purges of the reign - 83, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95 - and if, as suggested below, he visited Tarsus during his exile, such a reference might have appeared in an address delivered there.

We really have even fewer clues to the identity of the second family. It may very well be an allusion to the details of contemporary gossip about the eminent which is now lost on us. But it could well be a bit of wishful thinking on Dio's part about the removal of Domitian from the throne. If that were the case, then surely the most likely context is the open rebellion of Saturninus in 89 and not the presumably clandestine circulation of prophecies and omens in 95/6. In short, a setting can be found for this work in 89 in Tarsus, although it must be admitted that proof is impossible. The date suggested is, however, no more unreasonable than the traditional one of ca. 95/6.

II. *Orations 79-80* were also probably delivered in Tarsus. All but one of the mss. entitle Or.80 *On the Freedom of the Cilicians*, while the one exception gives the title of Or.79 as *On the Wealth of the Cilicians*. As there is nothing in the content of the two works to suggest a connexion with Cilicia, these titles may well derive from early scholia. The two speeches are commonplace enough in content, but Or.80's comments on vain strife may recall those of Or.34 (80.4; 34.45) which was certainly delivered in Tarsus. C.P.Jones (op. cit. 128) suggests that Or.79 was delivered in Rome, but offers no explanation of the mss. titles. Although the opening description of 'a city which is the greatest and most powerful of all' may well refer to Rome, Dio's close identification with his audience in section 5 seems less appropriate to a talk actually given in Rome (cf. H.L.Crosby in the Loeb vol.5 p.303, and, on early scholia to Dio, P.Desideri, *Dione di Prusa: un intellettuale greco nell'Impero romano*, Firenze 1978, 268 & 280 n.62).

When did Dio visit Cilicia? Or.34, evidently spoken in Tarsus (34.1), is, I believe, correctly assigned to the reign of Trajan (so C.P.Jones, op. cit. 136): a convenient gap for foreign travel can be found in Dio's biography between his entanglement in the scandal of Varenus Rufus' governorship in Bithynia (probably 105/6) and his appearance before Pliny

probably in 110 (for these dates see A.N.Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny - A Historical and Social Commentary*, Oxford 1966, 61, 80-81, 529ff. & 675).

However, at 40.11, datable to 101 (C.P.Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 138), Dio refers to the contemporary ambitions of the Tarsians and Antiochenes, which might suggest that he had already visited the Levant during his exile, which probably lasted from 83 to 96/7 (he certainly did not travel to the east between 96 and 101, see C.P.Jones, op. cit. 52ff.).

A tentative date of 89 during Dio's exile for a visit to Tarsus can be derived from Or. 66 (above), and I suggest that Orr. 79-80 could be associated with that visit. Desideri has argued on non-historical grounds that Orr. 79-80 belong during the exile (P.Desideri, *Dione di Prusa: un intellettuale greco nell'Impero romano*, Firenze 1978, 199-200, 209-210 & 232).

One other speech, Or. 33, may also belong to the same visit. This work is generally agreed to precede Or. 34 (so C.P.Jones, op. cit. 136), but Desideri has recently suggested that it may belong to a substantially earlier period of Dio's life, proposing a date in Vespasian's reign (P.Desideri, op. cit. 122-129 & 423-427). One of Desideri's reasons for separating the two Tarsian speeches chronologically is the apparent change of attitude to orientals outside the citizen body between the two works. The case depends on identifying the orientализing troublemakers of 33.38 & 48 with the linen workers of 34.21; Dio ridicules the former, but urges that the latter should be given citizenship. If the two speeches were made during the same visit, the change of viewpoint on a matter of serious and immediate political importance would be surprising, especially when accompanied by the startling change in tone between the two works. Or. 34 is a fairly serious sermon on political behaviour, containing practical proposals for restoring harmony in the city. In the earlier lecture the citizens are treated to an allusive, not to say abusive, discussion of their habit of snorting (ἀέγχειν) flavoured with a good deal of racial prejudice directed against the unhellenized lower orders whose cause is supported in Or. 34. One may contrast 33.37-42 with 34.21-23 in this respect. An earlier date for Or. 33 would also fit Dio's description of the quarrel between Tarsus and Aegeae at 34.10-11 as 'belonging to the former time'.

However, a date in Vespasian's reign is not credible for this speech. Dio assumes the character of a Cynic philosopher quite openly (33.8 & 13-16). This is scarcely possible in a speech to a public meeting in a provincial capital after Vespasian's quarrel with the philosophers and Dio's own ignominious recantation in the speech *Against the Philosophers* (71; H.von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*, Berlin 1898, 150ff., J.L.Moles, *JHS* 98[1978], 85ff., Dio Cassius 66(65).13). A fatal objection to a date before 71 for this speech is the reference at 33.17 to Tarsus as 'metropolis of people throughout Cilicia': it is generally believed that the province of Cilicia was not recreated as a separate entity until 72 (E. Bickerman, *AJP* 88[1947], 353ff., B.Kreiler, *Die Statthalter Kleinasiens unter den Flaviern*, diss. München 1975, 120-126). Therefore, if Or. 33 does not belong with Or. 34 in Trajan's time, a date in Dio's exile looks the most likely possibility.

The adoption of the hypothesis that Orr. 33, 66 and 79-80 all belong to a visit to Tarsus during Dio's exile would throw interesting light on the activities of an intellectual who had been forced into opposition to Domitian, probably through the wrong connexions in the court, after being a loyal supporter of Vespasian (J.L.Moles, art. cit.). The allusive banter of Or. 33 may be designed to cover up the ambiguities in his own position when making a public speech as an exiled 'dissident'. The smaller pieces, perhaps designed for less formal occasions, contain a number of potentially dangerous allusions. At 66.6, as we have already seen, there is a covert allusion to contemporary gossip about prominent people. Or. 79 ends with a reference to the futility of riches gained by imperial conquest and a reminder that each of the great empires of antiquity fell to a successor; the speech on freedom presents a vigorous denigration of public law codes in order to commend the unwritten laws of Zeus, followed by the philosopher (80.3-6). These activities also remind us that Rome could not deploy the extensive security service of a modern state.

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J.N.ADAMS(Manchester): CIL 4.8898: a correction

LCM 7.10(Dec.1982), 150

My remarks in LCM 7.6(Jun.1982), pp.86f. should be disregarded. H.Solin, *Epigraphica* 30 (1968), pp.115ff., has shown that the inscription was misread by the editor.

It should read

Tiopilus canis, cunnu lingere noli puellis in muro.

At p.117 Solin gives further examples from graffiti of the sympathetic dative on which I commented.

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Review: J.C.B.FOSTER(Liverpool)

LCM 7.10(Dec.1982), 151-152

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P. VERGILI MARONIS *Aeneidos liber Quartus*. Edited with a Commentary by R.G.AUSTIN, Oxford, Clarendon Press (paperback) 1982. £5.25. ISBN 0 19 872111 0

In writing for a periodical produced by the chalcid for the chalcid the present reviewer may run the risk of comparison with the fishes 'left uncovered on the shore' of *Eclogue* 1.60, particularly if he sees fit to give way to the expression of personal affection and indebtedness. But the reappearance of Roland Austin's magisterial (*at pereant qui magistrum ludi eum perhibuerint!*) commentary on *Aeneid* 4, the first of the four he produced (4, 2, 1, 6), in a neat, glaucous-hued paperback, printed in Great Britain, no less, and published, what is more, by the original publisher, is an event fully worthy of the much bruited bimillennium of Latin's greatest poet. In a year which has also seen the announcement of Latin's place as one of four subjects in the core curriculum of independent schools, and when many comprehensives are striving to foster Latin studies, it is clear that Austin's work is well set to continue to be the lodestar of humane education in this country and beyond that it has grown to be over the past quarter-century. Of those whose initial application to Virgil was fired by their contact with Austin's commentary the undersigned *nomen profitetur suum*.

The origins of this remarkable work lay in a course of lectures given to pass degree students at University College, Cardiff (it is worth mentioning that it succeeds to this day in kindling the zealous efforts and responses of intelligent non-specialist classes reading - for instance - History and Archaeology). Austin was never one of the school of closed eyes, rat-a-tat lecturers: one of his most engaging characteristics, in everyday discourse as well as on the rostrum, was the perfectly controlled digression, the product of his urbane, richly stored connoisseur's mind. So in the commentary one remarks the way in which his scrupulous and digestible transmission of the learning of Wackernagel, Norden, Maas and other giants, on style, language and metre, is counterbalanced by the genial evocation, at cardinal points in the poem, of comparable moments in Shakespeare, for example: these are unattributed, for to whom would the allusion not be accessible in the forefront of his consciousness? Cf., on 653ff. 'But here an English reader may think rather of Cleopatra's words "Give me my robe, put on my crown: I have | immortal longings in me" or of Othello's

Austin's approach, then, it must be said, is quintessentially English, as is that of another, very different Virgilian, R.D.Williams, to whom homage is also due at this time. Yet, in spite of his having been born the very month after the Victorian era came to an end, there is no sense in which the commentary is merely, as Austin used to say of Warde Fowler's writings, 'a delightful period piece'. What the Great War meant to him one can gather from his commentaries, and in particular from that of 2, and clearly the twenty-two year old veterans of that conflict made the eighteen year old exhibitioner of Balliol, just up from the Crypt School, Gloucester, feel like Horace in the presence of the centurions' sons. This is ostensibly a review, not a memoir, but it must be stated that Austin was a more complicated human being than he appeared at first impression (the kindly, even gullible-seeming, old gentleman keeping the teapot warm with his corduroy cap). Perhaps it was the proximity of the Malvern hills, but underlying one divined an almost Elgarian intensity of feeling, a passionate and vulnerable, if not actually wounded, sensibility. This, of course, made him a particularly apt commentator of the Book of Dido, which he handles with the approach of neither taxidermist nor trampoline artist. Pease had, as has been observed, included everything with the exception of the poetry. One has only to read Austin on the great problems of 550ff. to gauge his unerring tact and refinement: to Pease and Brooks Otis, for example, *more ferae* is still 'like a beast'.

The original reviews were warmly favourable: why nothing ever appeared in *CR*, οὐδὲ γὰρ, is an open secret. Let the words of J.Perret, *Gnomon* 28(1956), 153ff. speak for themselves: *le commentaire m'a paru presque toujours judicieux, sobre, animé par une sympathie intelligente à l'égard du poème; je regrette pourtant que A. ne semble pas avoir porté intérêt aux renouvellements récents de l'interprétation virgilienne, renouvellements dont le livre de V.Pöschl, Die Dichtkunst Vergils [Innsbruck & Vienna 1950 = The Art of Vergil, tr. Seligson, Ann Arbor 1962] est le plus remarquable.*

This limitation is indeed regrettable (if consciously imposed by the author, see p.xvii), for Austin was later, one understands, not unsympathetic to Pöschl's inspired illumination. A.Ernout, *R.Ph.* 30(1956) admires *l'oeuvre - d'une âme sensible, et, pourquoi pas, d'un poète* (cf. the Renaissance derivation of *poesis* from a 'very old Greek word *poetes* meaning *exquisita locutio*', Boccaccio, *Genealogiae Deorum Gentilium* liber xiv.7).

The penetrating and fastidious comments of Colin Hardie, *JRS* 46(1956), 214ff., are perhaps the fullest in scope: now even more one remarks the *abundantia* of large-scale quotations from translations by Chaucer, Douglas, Dryden, Jodelle etc.. The conscientious student may feel deflected by these from the matter in hand, yet is reluctant to 'skip' them in case they supply some elucidation or extend his or her vision. And herein lies the hazard implicit in commentary making: they can so easily degenerate into private commonplace books or *Noctes Atticae*, such that the reader has the sensation of being vouchsafed a quick peep at the text and then being snapped back to the notes as the primary matter:

cf. on 340ff. '*me si ... virtus*: these lines were quoted by Pitt in ... 1801', a note occupying a quarter of a page. Further, as Hardie observes (*JHS* 46[1956], 215). "Austin has a short way with 'sources' (Introduction XVI): 'Servius may tell us that the whole tale was taken from Apollonius Rhodius, and both he and Macrobius are welcome to believe it. We may freely conjecture what we will of Naevius' treatment of the legend.'". Yet Austin does add: 'Virgil had all this before him and ... the whole vast canvas of Greek tragedy'. On the one hand, the remarkable work of Strzelecki and Rowell in particular on Naevius deserves a mention, yet on the other, in this very matter of the book's antecedents Austin pointed the way for much subsequent work by stressing the absolutely essential part played by Book 1 (p.25), even if his emphasis is more emotional than exegetic: 'A proper comprehension of the full sorrow of this book cannot be gained without remembering certain lines of book 1'.

It is regrettable (and odd in one so steeped in grammatical lore) that one or two linguistic *naïvetés* remain inculcated, notably the metaphorical interpretation of normal grammatical procedures, e.g. *his ego* (120) 'the juxtaposition effectively suggests Juno's power': regrettable because this approach has been enthusiastically taken up and given a field-day by more than a few aspirants to an A-Level in Latin. So too, the same fastidiousness which decreed that a class handout of the *Vita Donati* should be bowdlerized of some of its *esoterica* is in evidence at 660 *sic, sic iuvat ire per umbras*, where, in Aristarchan spirit, he rejects Servius' explanation *et hoc eam se loco intellegimus percussisse* in the words 'But it is not in Virgil's way to let us see such horrors. Dido means "this shall be the manner of my dying"'. What, one might ask, of the explicit horrors of 689 *infans stridit sub pectore vulnus*? And while one is inclined to be cautious about assigning onomatopoeic values to Latin words, *sic, sic* beyond doubt conveys a sonority harsh and grating. After *moriamur inultae | sed moriamur* the deictic force of *sic, sic* must assert itself for the unprejudiced reader, whose attention is wrested towards what is being done at that instant by the speaker, viz. plunging the sword into her breast. Moreover, *iuvat/iuvabit* is a characteristic Virgilian locution (cf. *G.* 2.438 & *A.* 1.203); yet Austin here translates 'This way, yes, this, I am resolved to take my shadowy path'. But she does what she does with joy, in proud rehabilitation of the *pudor* she had lost because of Aeneas (321f.). In many ways this is Dido's finest hour.

One particular strength of Austin's work is that he does not fail to disclose to the full the poet's vein of humour: it is not Virgil who lacks the sense of humour but some of his exegetes. For instance, apropos the demeanour of young Ascanius at the Hunt, Austin remarks on the periphrasis at 163 *Dardaniusque nepos Veneris* 'the sporting columns of many daily newspapers will supply a form of modern counterpart' (sc. to the overdoing of this type of periphrasis). By 'Virgil's allusive manner' presumably what is meant is that at this turning-point the connexions with Dardanus (the *υδοτος* theme) and with Venus (the *Be-lid* theme) are paramount. Likewise on 217 he is admirable in his defence of *subnixus* of the primary mss. and Servius against the trivial *subnexus* of the *dett.* 'Iarbas can only understand the outlandish headgear by supposing that Aeneas' chin and hair are so languid that they need support from the bands of the *mitra*' (is Aeneas perhaps to Iarbas the archetypal chinless wonder?).

The Hirtzel text which, in the 1955 edition, has a sadly etiolated appearance, has in the meantime been completely reset. Inaccuracies of reference and proof-reading were never an Austinian weakness: on 632 '*Barcen*: Jodelle makes her a principal character in this play': should we read 'his'?

Inevitably these twenty-seven years have seen real advances in Virgilian scholarship: there now obtains a slightly less deferential, more constructive approach, one more concerned with evaluating relationships with Homer and ancient poetry and practice generally, not to speak of the light which generic methods can and will shed on the respective 'characters' of Dido and Aeneas. But these advances are owed to, not in spite of, Austin's work.

The University of Liverpool figured on the original flyleaf: its temporal links with Roland Austin, its Emeritus, are now broken; yet there are those in it still who associate him with that Elysian company (*Aeneid* 6.662ff.)

*quique pii vates et Phoebi digna locuti,
inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis,
quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo.*

STEPHEN HALLIWELL (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge): *Notes on some Aristophanic jokes*
(*Ach.* 854-9; *Kn.* 608-10; *Peace* 695-9; *Thesm.* 605; *Frogs* 1039)

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LCM 7.10 (Dec. 1982), 153-154

1. *Acharnians* 854-9 οὐδ' αὖθις αὖ σε σκώμεται Παύσαν ὁ παμπόνηρος
Λυσίστρατος τ' ἐν τάγορᾳ, Χολαργέων δνείδος,
ὁ περιαιουργὸς τοῖς κακοῖς,
ρίγων τε καὶ πεινῶν δει
πλεῖν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας
τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστω.

Why should Pauson and Lysistratus make jokes in the agora? What is Dicaeopolis to be imagined as avoiding? Van Leeuwen on 855 calls Lysistratus '*parasitus*', but the point has gone undeveloped by commentators. Lysistratus' supposed penchant for jests is illustrated at *Wasps* 787ff., 1308-10 and, possibly, fr.198.2. He is shown as starving by implication also at *Knights* 1267ff.; likewise Pauson at *Thesmophoriazousae* 949-53 and *Plutus* 602. But both men clearly moved in high social circles: see MacDowell on *Wasps* 787, and Eupolis, *CGF* 92.1ff. for Pauson. Satire of poverty for its own sake (so A. Sommerstein, *Acharnians* p.25 n.28) is thus ruled out, and is anyway always to be doubted in Aristophanes. Imputations of poverty against those with social pretensions are another matter, and comically much more intelligible. The combination of features attributed to Pauson and Lysistratus suggests that Aristophanes is indeed presenting them as men who have to entertain to earn their dinner. We have an illuminating analogy in Xenophon's *Symposium*, where Philippus turns up uninvited at Callias' house, and practises his γελοιοποιία to justify his place at the meal. But Philippus evidently belongs to the same social set as the other guests; the difference between him and the professional Syracusan who provides after-dinner entertainment is clear-cut. At *Wasps* 1308ff. we see Lysistratus engaging in the witty routine of εἰκασμός for which Xenophon's Philippus has a particular reputation (*Symp.* 6.8-10). But at *Acharnians* 854ff. Pauson and Lysistratus are a lower kind of parasite: like the κώλακες of Eupolis' play (fr.159) they go to the agora, armed with their stock of σκώμματα, to get a dinner from anyone silly enough to employ them. The truth about Pauson and Lysistratus is likely to have been very different; but we should be in no doubt about Aristophanes' comic image of them.

2. *Knights* 608-10 ὦπ' ἔφη θέωρος εἰπεῖν καρκίνον Κορίνθιον,
'δεινὰ γ' ὧ Πόσειδον εἰ μὴτ' ἐν βυθῷ δυνήσομαι
μήτε γῆ μὴτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ διαρυγεῖν τοὺς ἱππέας.'

In view of the connexion with the Knights, doubts about Theorus' identity are unnecessary: this must be the associate of Cleon familiar from *Wasps* 42-51, 418 and 1236-41. But what is the point of the crab? The answer, I think, is that Aristophanes is here parodying not one but two skolia. One of the songs involved is obvious: Timocreon's skolon (*PMG* 731) had already been parodied in Dicaeopolis' version of the Megarian decree at *Acharnians* 533f. (cf. the similar riddle at *Wasps* 22f.). The other skolon is preserved in the collection of Athenaeus XV 694c ff. (= *PMG* 892; see R. Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolon* [1893], pp.19f.). The relevant detail of it is that it contains the utterance of a crab ὁ δὲ καρκίνος ὧδ' ἔφα κτλ.. There are few enough circumstances in which one might want to talk about the saying of a crab, even in comedy; the clearest context is a skolon or fable of the type cited. At *Knights* 608-10, then, Aristophanes is putting a mock skolon, compounded out of two existing skolia, into Theorus' mouth, as a witty way of portraying his annoyance at the recent Corinthian success of his and Cleon's enemies, the Knights. The comic technique may seem to us bizarre, but it is certainly Aristophanic, for it is employed at *Wasps* 1219ff..

3. *Peace* 695-9 Ερ. πάμπολλα καὶ τάχα ἄ' κατέλιπεν τότε·
πρῶτον δ' ὅ τι πράττει Σαροκλέης ἀνῆρετο. 695
Τρ. εὐδαιμονεῖ, πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν. Ερ. τὸ τί;
Τρ. ἐκ τοῦ Σαροκλέους γίγνεται Σικωνίδης.
Ερ. Σικωνίδης; πῶς; Τρ. ὅτι γέρων ὦν καὶ σαπρὸς
κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.

Line 694 (and note the present tense in 697) shows that whatever is referred to belongs to the period since 431. The unqualified use of the name, together with the enigma of 697, rules out any uncertainty or ambiguity: this must be the tragic poet, *pace* D.L. Drew, *CR* 42(1928), 56f.. We can only surmise what Aristophanes is getting at here, but one conjecture seems to have been overlooked. In the *Life* of Sophocles, §12, there is a story that Sophocles played a part in recovering the golden crown stolen from Athena's statue in the Parthenon, and was rewarded with a public gift of a talent. Although the story has certainly been embellished, it is less suspect than many other anecdotes in ancient biography (cf. M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Poets* [1981] pp.83f.). The incident would make a suitable subject for the allusive joke in *Peace*, since Aristophanes would have been able to count on a general knowledge of such a matter. The same cannot be said for suggestions such as Platnauer's *ad loc.*, that Sophocles had 'been too highly paid for an epinikion for some prominent man'.

4. *Theomophoriazusae* 605 Γυῶ. ἔμ' ἦτις <ἐμ' > ἦρου; Κλεωνύμου γυνή.

There has always been uncertainty about whether we are meant to identify the Cleonymus of this line with the familiar target of jokes in the earlier plays. There is a factor which tilts the balance in favour of the identification. If we accept that the Cleonymus who appears in Attic inscriptions of the 420s is the same man as the Aristophanic butt (see R. Meiggs & D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* [1969], pp.187f.), then the name is unique for a fifth-century Athenian (for a possible sixth-century case see SEG 15.36, and for non-Athenians cf. SEG 22.251 (e), Thucydides 4.132.3, Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.25). This is not just a negative factor, for can we believe that Aristophanes would have picked Cleonymus to serve as an ordinary name at *Theomophoriazusae* 605? That in fact he intended the name to call to mind his old target is supported by contextual evidence, since the speaker's self-important indignation at having her identity questioned implies that the line should carry some comic force. The wife of Cleonymus identifies herself in the way normal for citizen women (cf. Sommerstein, *Quad. di Storia* 11[1980], 393ff.), but by doing so she implicates her husband in a joke, which lies in the ineptness of her pride in Cleonymus' reputation. Conceivably there was also some visual humour here: perhaps the woman was padded to match her husband's obesity (cf. *Ach.* 88, *Wasps* 592, *Birds* 1477).

5. *Frogs* 1039 Αἰῶ. ἀλλ' ἄλλους τοὶ πολλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ὧν ἦν καὶ Λάμαχος ἦρας.

It is very commonly claimed that Aristophanes took a more favourable attitude to the general Lamachus after his death, and in support of this the present line, together with *Theomophoriazusae* 841, is almost always cited as a complimentary reference to the man (I have encountered only R.E. Wycherley, *G&R* 15[1946], 101, to the contrary). But *Frogs* 1039 should be regarded as a joke, and one which slightly deflates Aeschylus' argument in the context. If Aeschylus' example of Homeric ἀρετή could be taken seriously, we would expect it to come from an earlier period, since he has been talking about the origins of Homer's reputation (1030ff.): Dionysus' contemporary reference in 1036-8 is pointedly bathetic, and the humour is emphasized by the repeated ἐδίδαξεν, as though Homer could have done something personally about Pantacles. In the context of a conflict between old and new, Aeschylus' weighty and didactic claim ought not to devolve upon a military figure as recent as Lamachus, of a later generation than Aeschylus himself (Lamachus cannot have been born earlier than c. 470, and cf. *Ach.* 601!); a representative of the generation of the Persian Wars would have been much more obvious a choice (cf. Lycurgus' claim of Homeric influence on the Athenians at Marathon, *Leocr.* 103f.). Confirming the peculiarity of this mention of Lamachus we have the word ἦρας, which quite clearly denoted a status entailing religious attention of some sort (cf. e.g. *Wasps* 389, 392 & 438, *Birds* 881 & 1485, and Austin, *CGF* 58). Even if we supposed Aeschylus to be using the word in its Homeric sense of 'warrior', it would be equally inflated here. Either way, there is no reason to suppose that Aristophanes expected his audience to take ἦρας more seriously than they were meant to do at *Acharnians* 575 and 579. We might even suspect that at *Frogs* 1039 Aristophanes was again putting into service the old joke on the etymology of Lamachus' name (cf. *Ach.* 296f., 1071, 1080 & 1206).

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FIONA CAWSEY (Bedford College, London): *A note on Maximianus* 5.66 LCM 7.10 (Dec. 1982), 154

Erubui stupuique: iterum verecundia motus 55
abstulit et blandum terror adem it opus

To set the scene briefly, Maximianus has been ensnared by a young Greek girl, while on a diplomatic mission in the East. He has already spent one successful night with her, and is now attempting a repeat performance; this turns out to be a complete disaster, and he finds himself in much the same trouble as Ovid in *Amores* 3.7.

Line 55 has its own problems which I do not want to discuss here: I shall concentrate on 56. All the MSS have *terror* and all editors have accepted the reading without question. But, in my view, the confidence in this reading that this consensus implies is unfounded. Precisely what is this *terror* to which Maximianus is subject and which causes him so much subsequent embarrassment? It can hardly be 'fear of impotence' thus causing impotence, since this would impute to the author an anachronistic understanding of modern psychoanalysis, and anyway, *terror* would be far too forceful a word for such an interpretation. *terror* seems quite the wrong word here, and in its place I would suggest that *torpor* should be read. The sense is exactly right in the context, i.e. a semi-paralysis that would indeed make Maximianus totally ineffectual in his sexual encounter. *torpor* provides an elegant counterbalance to *stupui*, just as *verecundia* (Maximianus' prosody is sometimes faulty) picks up the idea of *erubui*, and *torpor* itself is recollected in line 59 *nīl mihī torpenti*.

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T.E.KINSEY(Glasgow): *Virgil, Aeneid 6.392-4*

LCM 7.10(Dec.1982), 155 155

'nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
 accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
 dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.'

On line 394 D.P.Fowler (LCM 7.5[May 1982], 76) wrote:

'The *quamquam* clause is to be construed within the *cogitatio obliqua* after *sum laetatus* and relates to *accepisse*. Charon accepted Hercules, Theseus and Pirithous onto his boat even though they were *invicti viribus*, and paid for it.'

I see three objections to this interpretation.

- 1) If the *quamquam* clause contains reasons for not taking Hercules and the rest, it gives a statement of a very odd sort, since one would expect *nec ... sum laetatus* to refer to something normally productive of joy or at least harmless. 'I got no joy out of drinking it even though it was champagne' is a statement of the expected type; 'I got no joy out of drinking it even though it was arsenic' is not, whatever the concessive clause depends on.
- 2) The facts given in the *quamquam* clause might serve as excuses for taking Hercules and the others as passengers (VIPs, *force majeure*); they are not in themselves reasons for refusing to do so. Achilles might have been described as *dea genitus* and *invictus viribus*, but once he was dead he was a perfectly legitimate passenger.
- 3) Fowler's interpretation does not fit in with Charon's argument. Charon states the general reason against taking Aeneas (390-1) and then the reason for not making him an exception to the general rule (392-7). He had excellent excuses for making exceptions of Hercules and the others, but even so he got into trouble. *A fortiori* therefore he was not going to make an exception in favour of an unknown (*quisquis es* 388) and one ready for violence (*armatus* 388) like his predecessors.

Others (see Fowler) have taken the subjunctive as giving either the opinion of Charon or the assertion of Hercules and the rest, but this interpretation merely weakens Charon's argument, which requires 'in spite of the fact that they were' not 'in spite of the fact that they said they were' or 'I thought they were'. There remains the explanation that the subjunctive is on the analogy of that after *quamvis* (so R.D.Williams) and here O.Skutsch's suggestion (LCM 7.6[Jun.1982], 90), that the rhyme with *dis* made *quamvis* impossible, seems helpful.

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BARRY BALDWIN(Calgary): *Honours for Philtatius in Fragment 32 of Olympiodorus of Thebes*

LCM 7.10(Dec.1982), 155-156

ὅτι ζητήματος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς ἀνακρίμαντος περὶ τῶν κεκωλισμένων
 βιβλίων, μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κώλου, Φιλτάτιος δὲ τοῦ
 ἱστορικοῦ ἑταῖρος, εὐκλῶς περὶ γραμματικὴν ἔχων, τοῦτο ἐπέδειξε, καὶ
 εὐδοκίμῃσας τυγχάνει παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰκονος.

A little more may usefully be said on this matter, in the light of R.J.Penella's contribution¹.

First, do we read *κεκωλισμένων ... κώλου* (with Dindorf, Haedicke, Frantz and Penella) or *κεκολλημένων ... κώλου* (as Bekker, Müller, Henry and, disconcertingly without any acknowledgement of the problem, the notice of Philtatius in *PLRE* II)? It is worth subjoining that colometry was accepted without qualms in the two most influential modern studies of Olympiodorus, those by Thompson and Matthews². The principle of *lectio difficilior* can be invoked on both sides of the question. *κωλίω* is a rare verb. Some earlier editions of Liddell and Scott missed it altogether. LSJ cite only the present passage and subscriptions in the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes (where the variant *κεκόλλισται* in that to the *Clouds* is noteworthy). The supplement to LSJ adds a reference to Proclus' commentary on the *Republic* of Plato (2.21C Kroll). Stephanus adduced only the Codex Venetus; the verb is absent from the lexica of Sophocles and Lampe.

On the other hand, Dindorf's flat rejection of *κώλου* as a *vocabulum inauditum* ignores an unverifiable reference to the form in Amphilochius by Stephanus, and does not take into account mutations of gender in late Greek. A writer such as Olympiodorus would be quite capable of writing *κώλος* for *κώλλα*, especially under the influence of Latin *gluten/glutinum*.

Also, in view of the historian's *τοῦτο ἐπέδειξε*, it may be worth noticing *κῶλον κατέδειξε* in the *Suda*'s notice (Θ 462 Adler) of Thrasymachus, the sophist and alleged inventor of *periodoi* and *kola*.

Though some novel method of pasting cannot be ruled out, innovations in colometry

1. R.J.Penella, 'Honours for Philtatius in a fragment of Olympiodorus of Thebes', *LCM* 6.9 (Nov.1981), 245-246.

2. E.A.Thompson, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes', *CQ* 38(1944), 44; J.F.Matthews, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West', *JRS* 60(1970), 80.

perhaps better suit the scholarly Philtati³, establishing him as they would in a firm tradition from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Jerome explains at the beginning of his preface to Isaiah (Migne, *PL* 28.771) that he is applying to the transcription of Old Testament texts a new method of colometry used for Demosthenes and Cicero. A certain Castor (Waltz, *Rhet. Graec.* III.721) proposes to punctuate a passage of Demosthenes so as to make the numeration of the broken-up text accord with the number of verses in the old copies. Castor is of uncertain date. J.R.Harris³ locates him in the fifth century, in which case he should be added to *PLRE* II; Frantz⁴ puts him in the sixth. More striking, perhaps, is the grammarian Eugenius who, as an old man, acquired fame at Constantinople in the reign of Anastasius for his scholarship, which included a *colometria* of select plays of the three Attic tragedians⁵.

Jerome's words *interpretationem novam novo scribendi genere distinximus* may (even allowing for his usual truculence) seem to imply an element of rivalry between pagan and Christian scholarship. A similar boastfulness can be seen in the reiterated claims to innovation in the field of New Testament stichometry advanced by Euthalius, a deacon at Alexandria in the fourth or fifth century, whose scholarly work might fairly have entitled him to a mention in the appropriate volume of *PLRE*⁶. At the level of scholarly oneupmanship between pagan and Christian, honours paid to the colometric expertise of Philtati³ would be easily comprehensible, in Athens of all cities. Especially when allied with the more mundane but highly important question of pay for scribes and authors⁷. The Edict of Diocletian had fixed the rate for scribes per 100 lines. Such quantitative types of remuneration were common. The poet Oppian had received one gold piece per line from the Emperor for his efforts - a gross over-valuation, most modern critics would think! John Lydus had the same enviable rate for a eulogy of his patron and prefect Zoticus⁸. Given all this, it is likely that both the scribes and literary men of Athens would be keen to know the facts about colometry from Philtati³, and be accordingly grateful to him⁹.

The fragment of Olympiodorus in question is separated by three passages dealing with barbarians (one datable to 416) from fr.28, which relates how the historian supported the appointment of one Leontius to the sophistic chair at Athens in 415/6. One of the pupils of this Leontius was his own daughter Athenais, destined to become Aelia Eudocia, wife and Empress of Theodosius II. After a description of the marvels of the Oasis comes fr.34, precisely datable to the year 417. Thus, Philtati³ would appear to belong to the period 415/6, and may safely be placed in this nest of pagan intellectuals along with Leontius, Athenais, and Olympiodorus himself.

Any such interpretation would take care of *καί* in the apparent sense of *quare*, the matter that prompted the articles of Frantz and Penella. As to the latter's suggestion that Photius has omitted some of Olympiodorus' account of Philtati³, one must admit that possibility. Nevertheless, the Patriarch's Budé editor Henry (Introd. xxiii-xxv) reached a favourable estimate of the general reliability of his versions, hence the onus is perhaps on the unbelievers to furnish verifiable examples¹⁰ to the contrary.

3. J.R.Harris, 'Stichometry', *AJP* 4(1883), 152.

4. A.Frantz, 'Honors to a Librarian', *Hesperia* 35(1966), 378

5. *Suda* E 3394 Adler; it may or may not be suggestive that this work heads the list of his writings. The notice of Eugenius in *PLRE* II does not specify his work on colometry; cf. the article on him in *RE* VI, cols 987-988.

6. His work, with generous citations of the relevant texts, is discussed by Harris, art. cit. 314-5; for a more recent summary, including discussion of the dating question, see the notice of Euthalius in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1974 edition) 483-4

7. A matter comporting implications for the price of books; cf. A.F.Norman, 'The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch', *JHS* 80(1960), 122-126.

8. *Suda* O 452 Adler; Lydus, *de magg.* 3.27.

9. As Harris, loc. cit., shows, accuracy in stichometry is the prime element in Euthalius.

10. Of omissions of substance, that is, not verbal changes due simply to paraphrase of the original texts. With Olympiodorus himself, of course, it is impossible, since Photius is the unique source of his fragments.